

FINAL REPORT

**SHINYANGA REGION HUMAN DEVELOPMENT
REPORT**

GENDER STUDIES

**JOYCE A. OTSYINA
SHINYANGA, JANUARY, 1998**

TABLE OF CONTENTS	PAGE
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	v
1.0 INTRODUCTION	1
2.0 LESSONS FROM EXISTING GENDER ANALYSIS AND RESEARCH	3
2.1 Gender analysis	3
2.2 Gender relations in Tanzania	7
2.3 Gender studies in Shinyanga	10
3.0 GENDER AND POVERTY IN SHINYANGA: FINDINGS FROM PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH	16
3.1 Scope, methodology and limitations of study	16
3.2 Research findings	20
3.2.1 Development as perceived by the people	20
3.2.2 Poverty as perceived by men and women	20
3.2.2.1 A poor woman as perceived by men	21
3.2.2.2 A poor man as perceived by women	22
3.2.2.3 A poor woman as perceived by women	22
3.2.2.4 A poor man as perceived by men	23
3.2.3 Perceptions on causes of poverty	25
3.2.3.1 Causes of poverty in men: views of men and women	25
3.2.3.2 Causes of poverty in women: men's views	27
3.2.4 Strategies out of poverty: men's views	28
3.2.5 Causes of poverty in women: views of women	29
3.2.5.1 Strategies out of poverty: women's views	31
3.2.6 Wealth groups	33
3.2.6.1 Livelihood strategies of wealth groups IV and V	35
3.2.7 Female headed households and poverty	38

3.2.8	Women in productive activities	40
3.2.9	Social networks and the poor	43
3.2.10	Change in gender relations in Shinyanga	46
3.2.11	Expressed needs of men and women	49
4.0	BREAKING THE LINKS BETWEEN GENDER AND POVERTY:IMPLICATIONS FOR ACTION AND FOR POLICIES	51
4.1	Strategic needs	51
4.2	Practical needs	54
4.3	Opportunities for development interventions	55
4.4	Conclusions	58
	REFERENCES	59

LIST OF FIGURES

		PAGE
Figure 1	Income and expenditure patterns of a poor woman	36
Figure 2	Income and expenditure patterns of a rich	37
Figure 3	Matongo village, Bariadi District: the case of Mwanamongo	45
Figure 4	Kakola village, Kahama District: the case of Esther	46

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This gender study is part of a Participatory Poverty Assessment (PPA) toward the formulation of the Human Development Report (HDR) for Shinyanga Region. The study seeks to address gender issues and how poverty, especially poverty in women and the position of women in general can be improved. Participatory and conventional research methods were combined in five districts and five villages to investigate the different ways women and men perceive and experience poverty, the causes of this poverty from the people's point of view, intra and inter-household poverty. The study also examined the involvement of women in productive activities and its implications for their well-being and poverty. The different needs of men and women were also investigated, together with the opportunities existing at the local, district and regional levels which can be used to address these needs in order to help improve the position of women in the region.

Some of the key findings from the study are as follows:

1. Poverty is perceived and experienced differently by women and men. Both women and men's perception of female poverty laid emphasis on the lack of non material things such as women's heavy work load, lack of decision making power, lack of access to and control over resources, lack of education and independent income: a direct way of linking poverty in women to patriarchy by the people themselves. revealing the qualitative and less tangible aspects of life previously overlooked by other research conducted on poverty. On the other hand, male poverty or poverty in men is associated with the lack of material things such as land, cattle, money, food and shelter - the conventional indicators of poverty among the Sukuma. Women's perception of poverty however changed when both men and women were put together for discussions. In this case, women perceived poverty in the same manner as men - lack of material things, pointing out the importance of the "engendering" of poverty analysis. The study also revealed that although seemingly different, the other minority ethnic groups in the Shinyanga Region perceive poverty in the same way as the Sukuma who are the majority.

2. Poverty is experienced by people in all types of households, be them monogamous, polygamous or female headed. The determining factor is usually the lack of resources of production as was found to be associated the youth who have just started life, some of the female headed households headed by widows (with young children to care for), divorcees (with

young children to care for) and neglected women in polygamous unions, and some male headed households. However, some male headed households were found to be poor not because they lack resources of production, but due to mismanagement, laziness and drunkenness.

3. Needs for women and men identified in this study are different. Women perceived low levels of education, lack of independent income of men, lack of information, skills and capital (credit facilities) for business enterprises, health care, water provision as some of their needs. The most important need, however, identified and stressed by women as the most important of all needs is the modifications of certain customs and traditions in the society which oppress and subordinate women and contribute to their poverty. The most crucial issues identified as relating to the traditions and customs of the land are issues on marriage and bride price, inheritance, education of female children, alleviation of the burden of domestic labour, freedom of women to engage in income earning activities and control over resources. A series of awareness raising workshops for men and women and the strengthening of institutions (local and government) to enforce law and order, and to empower women to make use of these institutions have been mentioned by women as possible ways of addressing the issues without which women see very little chance for the success of any future interventions.

4. Increase in economic activities among women has been attributed to factors such as the national economy and the economic crisis, reduction of dependency of women on men, and the increase in the needs of women themselves in recent times among other things. These activities, it has been observed are characterised by the lack of credit facilities, the use of inferior technologies and the use of little or no hired labour. The consequences therefore for women are the increase in women's workloads, the shirking of responsibilities at home by men, and poor health of both children and mothers.

5. Opportunities for development interventions identified in the course of this study include the following:

(i) Local level

- Willingness of the people to improve on their living conditions
- Existence of active women's groups
- Existence of local institutions to enforce law and order

(ii) District and Regional levels

- Existence of governmental and non-governmental organisations for the provision awareness information on legal and cultural issues and for training and technical assistance on productive enterprises.

The findings of the study has implications for the HDR and Poverty Eradication Strategies in Shinyanga Region. The findings suggests a holistic approach (welfare, capacity building and empowerment strategies) to development should be adopted to help in the alleviation of poverty and improvement in the position of women. Recommendations to help achieve this include:

(i) Basic roots of women's oppression should be uprooted.

- Laws to address issues on discrimination against women should be strengthened
- Awareness should be raised on family life and the role of men and women in society.
- Education on the rights for citizens, especially, rights for women (legal literacy) should be intensified.
- Institutions to enforce law and order to be strengthened

(ii) Mobilising the people for development activities through the provision of development information.

(iii) There is the need to promote income generating activities among women to help them raise independent incomes.

(iv) Provide regular technical information and training for both men and women in improved agricultural techniques.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This gender studies is a study which has built on a Participatory Poverty Assessment (PPA) conducted in all the seven districts of Shinyanga Region with the aim of preparing a Human Development Report and Poverty Eradication Strategy for Shinyanga Region. The main objective of this study as stipulated in the terms of reference is to assist in the preparation of a "Human Development Report" and "Poverty Eradication Strategy" for Shinyanga Region. However, the sector studies on gender will seek to address issues on gender and the extent to which poverty, especially poverty in women and the position of women in general, can be improved. This takes into account gender issues in the context of household poverty and the identification of locally-based, District and Regional opportunities which will be used to strengthen the impact of poverty reduction activities on the income and well-being of women in poor rural households.

The main research questions to be addressed, as formulated in the terms of reference for the research assignment from IDS are:

1. How do men and women perceive and experience poverty?
2. What are the differences in the needs of men and women? How can the needs of women in particular be addressed?
3. In what ways do minority ethnic groups in Shinyanga differ in their patriarchal relations, in their perceptions and experience of poverty and in their practical and strategic needs from the Sukuma?
4. What is the role of poor women in productive activities and what do they contribute to the household economy? How does their "double burden" affect their time use and their well being and that of their family and kin?
5. What is the role of social networks in assisting women to cope with economic stress and in contributing to their well being? How do poor women encounter and deal with domestic violence and other types of threat to their personal security?
6. In female headed and polygamous households how do the gendered relations of social and

economic power affect female well being in comparison with male headed monogamous households?

7. What are the inheritance rules, rights and practices among the Sukuma? How do women acquire the means to start economic activities and who benefits from them?

8. How are gendered relations of social and economic power changing over space, in response to changing production? What are the implications of these changes for female poverty and ill-being? These questions determined the design and organisation of the research.

Presentation of research findings

This report is organised in four sections. Section one deals with issues on gender analysis and how this can contribute to an understanding of poverty. It briefly defines gender and raises some issues surrounding gender in the context of poverty programmes. Section two is on findings from published research on gender and poverty in Tanzania and Shinyanga.. It reviews some important literature on gender issues in Tanzania and Shinyanga which can be built upon for the purposes of this study. The third section covers main findings from the Participatory Poverty Assessments PPAs and from the field research on gender studies. Finally, section four refers to some implications of the research findings for action by village women themselves and how they can be supported by policy interventions.

2.0 LESSONS FROM EXISTING GENDER ANALYSIS AND RESEARCH

2.1 Gender analysis

Gender is a term which refers to the commonly held ideas and attitudes related to being female or being male. Conceptions of gender are derived from the prevailing cultural norms about how relations between men and women are organised and structured within the specific social environment. The nature of these gender relations are reflected in the division of labour and responsibilities and in the patterns of authority between women and men, in the organisation of society and social institutions like bride price, marriage customs, marital relations and patterns of inheritance (Bryceson,1995: 38). These relations are not necessarily nor obviously harmonious and non-conflicting and may take very different forms under different circumstances. However, the relations often take the form of male dominance and female subordination, thus the subject matter of gender analysis is the various forms that subordination takes. A gender approach means analysing the forms and the links that gender relations take and the links between them and other wider relations in society (Ostergaard, 1992:7).

Gender has become a widespread development concern over the past twenty years and it has been assimilated into development thinking in what appears to be a comprehensive way. (Jackson,1995:1). Bilateral and multilateral development agencies have gender policies, priorities and strategies. gender units. gender specialists gender reporting criteria and gender monitoring. All these are aimed at changing gender relations principally towards improvements in the psychological, economic and social position of women because they are the most disadvantaged in society.

In her discussions on poverty and gender in Tanzania, Mbughuni (1994) highlights the different ways gender issues have been handled over the years and the reasons for lack of success. Societies have given men and women different roles and levels of power and value and these gender differences have been sites of struggle for women in everyday life in three main areas: the gendered

division of labour, gendered access to resources such as land, credit, education and labour, and the more powerful control of men over decision making processes plus the discourse on “tradition” or the ideology which legitimizes and justifies this male control. She discusses the operational framework for gender analysis developed for gender analysis in Tanzania which allows differentiation of the various determinants which contribute to gendered conditions. At the top of the frame work are the manifestations, conditions or characteristics of women vis a vis men such as lower income, employment and educational levels, maternal mortality. These are related to division of labour, decision making and the differential access to resources which in turn are mediated by various formal and informal institutions such as marriage education system, religious institutions. Legal system as well as “traditional” socialising institutions such as family and marriage.

The control over resources and the “traditions” or the traditional ideology have been identified as the key site and the hardest to open to change for the women in Tanzania in their struggle for improvement of their situation at all levels of the framework. She criticises the strategies adopted by development agencies and Women In Development (WID) as ineffective because they have adopted strategies which target the manifestations (welfare programmes) and institutional formation (capacity building) as they failed to give attention to the root causes/determinants of women’s oppression - control of resources and the traditions which legitimise it and concentrated only on short term welfare delivery. She further argued that approaches which address “practical” needs must also be accompanied by a capacity building or empowerment component and stresses the point that practical needs should be utilized as an “entry point” for addressing women’s strategic needs in bringing about transformative change. This same view is shared by Moser (1993:37) who sees the different needs of men and women as an important underlying rationale of gender planning. Mbughuni’s paper shares a lot in common with the aims of the PPA which also seek to adopt a holistic approach to poverty eradication in Shinyanga Region.

Kaijage and Tibaijuka (1996) discuss the clash over the definition of poverty in respect to Tanzania.

This is implied in the differences between the world Bank's and the UNDP ranks assigned to Tanzania among the poor countries of the world. World Bank used GDP to rank Tanzania as the second poorest in the world in 1991. UNDP ranked it as 16 from the bottom based on Human Development Index, that is, adjusted real GDP combined with life expectancy and educational attainment (Bagachwa,1994b:5-6). However, attempts at assessing the levels of poverty in Tanzania have in general been made within the framework of the World Bank's construction which essentially relates poverty to incomes - minimum levels of income considered necessary to support a minimum standard of living. The definition of that minimum is nutrition based. Prevailing levels of income were established as Tsh 600 in 1980, and on this basis, it was concluded that 14.7 per cent of Tanzania's urban and 25-30 per cent of her rural population lived below those estimated poverty lines.

Collier et. al., (1986) see a flaw in the whole idea of using poverty lines for measuring poverty is seriously flawed on the grounds that it is incapable of accommodating diversity needs and the means by which they are met. It disregards the role of culture and the contributions of social safety nets to human welfare. Poverty datum lines are therefore inappropriate in the assessment of poverty in a society like Tanzania. They argue that the quantification of poverty becomes less important than questions related to "attributes of poverty and the mechanisms that perpetuate poverty and inequality

Some attempts have however been made to provide insights into the nature and some underlying causes of poverty and inequality in the rural areas of Tanzania through studies which make cross comparisons of rural households (Collier, et. al., 1986; Tinios et. al., 1993; Sarris and van den Brink, 1993). They all came out with the findings that unlike non-poor households which derive their income from diverse sources - marketed crops, livestock, remittances, and non-farm earnings, the poor households heavily relied on subsistence incomes from agricultural production. The non-poor households had both high crop and high non-crop incomes, while the reverse was the case in respect of the poor households. The authors drew the conclusion that the relatively disadvantaged households are poor because the returns to their labour are low and that the latter is the case because

of low factor endowments.

The study by Collier et. al.,(1986) and Tinios et. al.,(1993) revealed that differences in land holding explain differences in crop output. Although restricted access to land features as a factor in rural poverty and inequality, it is not deemed to be a decisive one. Differential access to Livestock ownership had a more significant impact as was also revealed in the PPAs and this study as will later on be observed. However, in the high populated areas, land plays a very important role in crop outputs. Levels of education and the ability to afford agricultural inputs were important factors in respect to certain crops.

Mascarenhas and Mbilinyi (1984), concluded that it is the exclusion of women from access to economic and cultural resources such as land, formal employment agricultural credit and expertise, farm inputs and implements, educational opportunities and access to decision making which influences poverty in them. They did not however differentiate between intra-household and inter-household factors which tend to contribute to poverty in women.

Jackson, in her article *Rescuing Gender from the Poverty Trap* (Jackson,1995) discusses the new poverty agenda of multilateral development agencies. This new poverty agenda claims that the concept of poverty has been broadened beyond the notions of inadequate private income or consumption toward a more comprehensive perspective: absence of a secure and sustainable livelihood which allows us to measure and evaluate the level of poverty and vulnerability - and freedom from bias by gender and age; individual access to privately and publicly provided goods and services and to common property. The multilateral positions on gender and development (GAD) also stress poverty of women as a primary justification for development interventions designed to improve the position of women. Jackson challenges these ideas and stresses the need for poverty to be gendered, rather than serving as a proxy for the subordination of women. To her, there is no substitute for a gender analysis which transcends class divisions and material definitions of deprivation, and the instrumental interest in women as the means to achieve development objectives such as poverty reduction may ultimately undermine GAD initiatives. Jackson's main

concern lies in the fact that poverty has been feminised and is used to justify gender and development activities. She asks: Does it mean that there will be no justification for GAD if poverty is not feminised? Are there no gender issues amongst those who are not the deserving poor? Must all GAD activity be focused on poor women? Will poverty alleviation improve the position of women? Her conclusions are that poverty can be feminised only to some extent; it all depends on the situation. Some of the female headed households may even be better off than male headed households and some women may trade material well being - which they can acquire within a headed household - for non-material well being derived from being independent. She concludes that poverty policies are inappropriate for tackling gender issues because the subordination of women is not caused by poverty though it is definitely one of its causes.

2.2 Gender relations in Tanzania.

Several studies have been conducted on gender in Tanzania as a whole and specifically in Shinyanga which can serve as basis for this gender analysis or poverty in the Shinyanga Region. Bryceson (1995:37-69) in her analysis of gender relations in Tanzania argues that the particular blend of gender relations found in any one geographical area and/socio-economic stratum is determined by a wide array of influences. At the household level, she concludes that the variation in gender relations is very wide indeed since it reflects not only institutional but also inter-personal dynamics of individual men and women within the household. Nonetheless, certain patterns do tend to repeat themselves, making it possible to generalise about gender relations at the same time as identifying distinctive features of gender relations in any given locality. The PPA results from Shinyanga also confirm this; the patterns of gender relations tend to be the same for all the ethnic groups surveyed regarding division of labour among men and women, control and access to resources of production and also in decision making power both at household and village levels.

Bryceson contends with the variation in gender relations at household level by advancing a model of "household negotiations" leaving open the possibility of various outcomes for complementarity or opposition between men and women within the household. These household negotiations, she

claims can be approached by looking into issues such as entitlements, marriage/cohabitation contracts, household income and expenditure, domestic labour and needs provisioning and community norms. She sees reproduction and production as the material bedrock of gender relations and outlines the general patterns of gender relations in Tanzania which relate to the dominant forms of production and reproduction found in rural areas. The bargaining model is employed to show that there is always some room for women to manoeuvre, even under circumstances when they have been largely denied their status as human beings. The intangible elements that provide the foundation for negotiations are identified as "trust" and "respect."

Chaplain's work in Kanga Village in northern Mafia Island considers the issue of gender and work loads and their relation to fertility and health at the level of a single household (1995:118-138). Fertility, work-loads, and health all articulate in a significant way. Women and men both want and enjoy children, but men want more children than do women, and they want sons. Though women are responsible for most of the domestic labour, and a high proportion of the productive labour they do not control any household resources; it is usually men who have access to cash. This study concludes on the note that although an educated woman may desire to space her child bearing, it is difficult for her to make decisions in this sphere. Chaplain's major criticism is of policies which aim education in family planning, child care and diet solely at women on the grounds that it is women who bear children and who feed their families. She points out that women may well not have control in any of the above spheres and men's preferences have important implications for the health and well-being of their wives and daughters.

Issues relating to the involvement of women in economic activities and how this can lead to their empowerment and improved well-being has been a subject of debate for some time. Koda (1995:139) and Ako (1995:156) have discussed the pressures that economic crisis has placed on the family, household responses and survival mechanisms, the dynamics of the informal sector and women's role within it, and the implications of this involvement and its changing pattern for gender relations. They argue that women work longer and more intensively and are taking on some responsibilities which formerly belonged to their husbands. Women's increasing involvement in

the informal sector has also stimulated an unprecedented process which empowers them and poses a threat to male supremacy and the male ego. Struggles over economic power, however, have meant not only more work and social responsibilities for women but also increased marital conflict, sometimes leading to domestic violence and divorce. Both writers agree however that in spite of the added responsibilities and conflict, women's involvement in the informal sector has had a positive effect. Women (mostly those in the urban areas) are now involved in major household decisions (a practice absent in the past), women form associations and networks outside their own homesteads, localities and countries, and the urge to challenge patriarchy is on the increase. Due to the above, male attitudes towards women, as well as power structures within the household, have changed. Both Koda and Ako conclude that with the increasing socio-economic empowerment of women we can expect greater gender equality in both the household and public domains and traditional cultural beliefs which have limited women's status and autonomy will gradually be modified.

Issues about decision making in the household have been taken on by Omari (1995 : 203). The theoretical assumption of a joint utility function (Moser, 1993: 20) may not be very helpful, he argues, least of all for studying decision-making, since even those living outside the household unit may be involved and cultural factors may be very significant. The relations of reciprocity at unit household level and outside, together with inter household and intra-household dynamics all go a long way to influence decision making at this level. He stresses how variations in household structure affect decision making processes and bargaining through the number and range of people involved, the nature of the relationships between them, the division of labour and responsibilities and their links to other domestic units. He also contrasts polygamous and monogamous households.

2.3 Gender studies on Shinyanga

Socio-cultural factors have played a very important role in contributing to poverty to the poverty of women in Shinyanga as the PPAs reveal. Some socio-cultural factors that have a direct bearing on poverty analysis in Shinyanga are presented in this section.

Bride price, marriage and divorce

Cory (1953: 13) writing on bride price among the Sukuma identifies several functions of the bride price among the Sukuma although its main function is to determine the status of children. If bride price is paid, the children belong to the paternal family. The payment of bride price is the condition of a customary marriage and guarantees the legitimacy of the offspring, although the act of paying bride price does not legitimatise the marriage. The bride price is negotiable and depends on kind of family from which bride comes and her acquired and ascribed characteristics. However, bride price range between 15 to 35 cows. As long as bride price is not returned, the children born by the wife belong to the paternal family, even if the husband is dead or absent for many years. A father who wishes to disinherit a son demands a repayment of a customary portion of the bride price whereupon the son becomes a member of the maternal family. In the event of divorce, the husband may demand the return of the whole bride price thus losing all children to the maternal family. If he later changes his mind, he must repay an appropriate portion of the bride price to the maternal family.

The trend to-day is for more young people to take the decision to stay together into their own hands (Aarnink and Kingma, 1992:24) after which there are negotiations between the two families. Another trend is for young people to stay together without a bride price actually being paid. In the past, when a man could not pay the bride price, he stayed with his in laws and worked for six years after which the couple could start a separate marital life. Today, unless the girl's parents disagree, the couple may simply stay together without a bride price being paid.

Usually when a woman marries, she leaves her parental home and moves in with her parents-in-law. A man may decide to marry another wife some years later.

Separation and divorce : A man may divorce his wife on grounds of adultery or her inability to bear children. A woman on the other hand, can request a divorce if her husband beats her, or does not take proper care of her. A complex set of rules governs the children born in wedlock as already mentioned. A couple that faces problems within their marriage can approach the village government or relatives. If a bride price has been paid, there are no children and the woman is the cause of the divorce, then her family has to return the whole bride price. If there are children involved the bride price returned will be reduced. If no bride price has been paid, the children belong to the woman's family. If the man is the cause of the divorce, then no bride price has to be returned. In case of crops, if the woman is the cause of the divorce, she is sent away empty handed. If the husband is the cause, the crops, except maize are divided up between husband and wife.

Role and status of women

Among the Sukuma a man is the usual head of the household and in the case of a man with several wives, all wives co-habited. Both men and women are engaged in farming with the help of the children, but it is the women who spend more time than men in the field (Shao et. al., 1992:107). Women's role in food crop production is generally higher, especially in weeding, harvesting and processing. Most of the income is provided by crops such as cotton and rice. Livestock also produce cash income. Income from cotton and paddy rice, especially in good years, is significant to the individual household. Even though both men and women do the cultivation, when it comes to selling the farm produce, especially cotton and rice, it is the man who sells and takes the money. A woman can only keep household money if instructed by her husband. It is the man who makes decisions on how money is spent; however the woman can advise. In the case of food crops, women are allowed to make decisions on them. Women can engage in activities outside agriculture like brewing of local beer, pottery, and selling of pancakes. The money gained from such activities is controlled mainly by the women even if they are married (Shao et. al., 1992:110).

Property ownership and inheritance

Cattle are conventionally understood to be owned by men, and women have no decision on them. However, an unmarried woman may own cattle or a woman may inherit cattle from her husband or be given cattle by a relative. In these cases, she can make decisions about them. Smaller livestock with the exception of donkeys are frequently controlled by the woman. A married woman owns chicken plus household items such as furniture and kitchen utensils. But this also depends on the kind of marriage. If dowry has been paid, the woman owns nothing in the form of cattle, land or children unless specified by the husband. Upon the death of the man, the children (the most elderly) take over the property of the man. However, if the marriage was by elopement, upon divorce, the property is shared equally between them, and upon the death of the man, the wealth is inherited by the woman and children (Shao et. al., 1992:138).

According to Tanzania law all adults have the same rights regarding access to land. Officially land cannot be sold or purchased. Land is allocated through the village government and the village committee and it is these bodies which are responsible for land use planning. Ten-cell leaders are also entitled to distribute land among households within the area they control. All the decision makers concerning land distribution are men.

In actual practice, land is allocated to heads of households (male or female). Land can be and often is rented out or given in usufruct to other individuals. Verbal agreements are made verbally between the parties involved. When conflicts arise, the elders, together with the ten - cell leaders are the people who settle arguments about land.

Other studies

The most valuable and recent work covering Shinyanga Region is by Aarnink and Kingma (1991). This work is in two parts giving results of research conducted in two villages in the Shinyanga and

Kahama districts. The ultimate goal of the study is to contribute to the provision of conditions which enable women to strengthen their positions in the organisation of agricultural production at household and village levels. With this goal in mind, the study attempts to contribute to a better understanding of the dynamics that determine and change the position of women with regard to their involvement in agricultural production within their specific context. The uniqueness of this research can be found in the fact that it tries to link agricultural productivity to reproduction by examining women's multiple roles and the wide range of choices for resource allocation, differentiating among women by the of their household headship and composition, and the fact that women use social networks and other forms of resource mobilisation as part of their strategies.

In their conclusions, the authors found that there were differences in the decision making power, division of labour access to and allocation of resources among women in the different types of households, and that certain conditions need or can be met in order for women to be able to benefit from higher agricultural production, and in order to strengthen their position in the organisations of production. The conditions such as women's control over the organisation of production in order for them to meet their household responsibilities more easily is by gaining access to information which will put them in a better position to influence decision making to serve their own interest. The freedom of movement , availability of time and means of transport are all prerequisites for the fulfilment of the above condition. Other conditions include having independent incomes and the introduction of new crops or new varieties of crops. Though biased towards the involvement of women in agriculture, this serves as very useful background information on gender issues and how these in turn can influence poverty in women in Shinyanga Region.

Shao et al. (1992) studied the traditional management of natural resources in the Shinyanga rural district and emphasise the involvement of women in projects in order to achieve success. They argued that the government's policies of reforestation and destocking have had no success, particularly in the sense that women who are the great users and managers of the environment were not involved. Though this is a study on the management of the environment, it contains information on certain cultural practices among the Sukuma which influence gender relations.

Issues such as marriage, bride price and inheritance are discussed. The relevance of this work to a gender and poverty studies in the Shinyanga Region lies in the fact that it discusses issues which, when analyzed would be seen to influence poverty among the Sukuma especially women. In particular, the issue of property ownership, particularly of land is seen as a constraint not only to land management, but also to women's control over other resources and decision making in general.

The role which information plays in the empowerment of people for development activities has been realised over the past decade. Information enlightens people and can help them out of poverty through development activities. Otsyina (1993) conducted research into the way soil conservation and afforestation information was being communicated to rural communities, and especially to women in Shinyanga Rural District. The aim was to find out the extent to which farmers were being involved in the development process through their direct and active participation. This took into account the effectiveness of the communication methods being used in meeting the goals of HASHI. The study revealed two major communication systems in use by the HASHI project - the Indigenous Communication System (ICS) and the Modern Communication System (MCS). The ICS was mainly used to communicate awareness information while the MCS was used for training.

Indigenous or local systems were found to be more effective since they were controlled by rural people themselves. The channels used in training however had problems because they were largely controlled by the HASHI staff. Farmers became suspicious of ideas being introduced to them and later sabotaged the ideas leading to low adoption rate.

Regarding women, the same communication strategies used for men were the same used to communicate the idea of the use of improved stoves to help solve their firewood problems. This was done by way of women's groups using seminars and study tours with women selected by HASHI staff who were influential in society. Though women realised the economic importance of the use of improved stoves, they were not enthusiastic about its adoption.

Several conclusions can be drawn from the above study on the issue of participation and rural development. It was revealed that the "top-down" approach which has been discredited the world

over for its inability to involve the grassroots in development for the purposes of sustainability and capacity building was still being used by HASHI hence the low adoption rate and the rejection of ideas by farmers. In the case of women their lack of freedom of movement, time available to them and their heavy workloads schedules were all not taken into account. The study therefore recommended that all development efforts should be conceived, planned and implemented with the beneficiaries for better results.

3.0 GENDER AND POVERTY IN SHINYANGA: Findings from Participatory Research

This section presents the methodology adopted for this study, and findings and analysis of gender and poverty from the field work. It combines findings from the Participatory field research for gender studies and from the PPA village studies.

3.1 Scope, methodology and limitations of study

This study focuses on gender relations in Shinyanga region of Tanzania and how these influence poverty, especially poverty in women. A study of this nature with time and language constraints will certainly have limitations. It was impossible to cover all the districts in the Shinyanga Region. Research was undertaken in one village from each of the districts included in the study (see table 1). If time had been available, different views might have been revealed on the same issues.

Another limitation also lies in the fact that Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) methods were employed in gathering much of the data. As Jackson puts it "How can we be sure that minority views are not being suppressed in generalising views which in other words is not the case" (Jackson,1995:24). To minimise this limitation conventional methods in the form of individual interviews which are less formal were used for indepth probing on certain delicate but vital issues which would be difficult to discuss in public. The method is also time consuming as many different views have to be heard to gain a broad understanding of the range of issues being raised. Considering the time available for the field work it was impossible to seek as many views as possible on certain delicate issues pertaining to intra-household relations.

It must also be stressed that the inability of the researcher to speak Kisukuma also limited the in-depth probing on certain issues. However, the researcher was assisted by an assistant whom she had worked with previously. In addition, the researcher herself worked in Shinyanga rural area for four years prior to this study. Cross-checking and utilising secondary data took care of some of the above limitations.

Study design and primary data collection

The data collection strategy is a substantial pre-condition for the success of any study. The field work extended over a period of three weeks for the PPAs and 20 days for additional data collection. The study tried to build on the Participatory Poverty Assessment (PPAs) conducted in 5 districts in Shinyanga Region. These were supplemented by information collected through personal observations, group discussions focused on specific issues, informal discussions with village leaders (on political issues) and individual interviews conducted at the household level (using a check list).

Site selection

The five districts selected for the gender study are Bariadi, Maswa, Bukombe, Kahama and Shinyanga Rural. Meatu District was excluded because it was predominantly Sukuma which would be taken care of in Maswa and Shinyanga Rural. Shinyanga Urban was also excluded because a separate urban sector study was to be conducted. One village from each of the five districts was selected (see table 1) according to a range of criteria. Some were chosen because they were near the district capital (Dodoma), others because they have very important economic activities (mining and large scale farms - Matongo and Kakola) and yet others because specific ethnic groups needed to be captured (Katome - predominantly Sumbua).

Table 1 Villages and Districts used for study

Name of Village	District
Dodoma	Maswa
Matongo	Bariadi
Kakola	Kahama
Katome	Bukombe
Iselamagazi	Shinyanga Rural

Sample selection

The target population was both men and women in each village. A wealth ranking exercise was completed with a group of men and women in one sub-village within each village. Wealth groups were identified and twelve individuals were selected with the help of the sub-village chairmen. An important feature of this exercise was the identification of female headed households within the different groups, poor male headed households (monogamous and polygamous) and co-wives who were not living in the same household for more detailed interviews.

Group discussions involved women's groups where these existed. Where there were no formal groups, discussions pertaining to culture and gender relations were held with a group of women and a separate group of men.

As far as possible, all villagers, both men and women were involved in discussions on poverty and well being. It was after these discussions that one sub-village within the village was chosen for wealth ranking and interviews at household level.

Individual interviews

Conducting the interviews : Forty eight people from different households were irandomly selected with the help of village leaders and interviewed after a wealth ranking exercise. They consisted of a mixture of people from the very rich, rich, poor and very poor households paying particular attention to female headed households from the various wealth groups and neglected women from polygamous unions. Individual interviews were conducted in the houses of respondents. In the case of monogamous households, both husbands and wives were interviewed separately on issues pertaining to their sex. Women were interviewed with permission from their husbands. In polygamous households with co-resident wives, the head (the husband), the first and

the youngest wife in order of marriage were interviewed. Women in polygamous marriages who were living separately were also identified and interviewed. A check list was prepared and the research assistant who speaks English, Swahili, Kisukuma and Kinyamwezi administered the questions which generated a lot of discussion. Since the principal researcher could also speak Swahili, she at times asked certain questions for clarification. Each interview lasted between one and one and a half hours.

Group discussions

As noted, group discussions were held with both women and men including village leaders. Ten groups (two from each village) of women and men were involved in the focus group discussions. Topics for discussion were introduced to the groups and the responses were recorded in a notebook. It was decided to deal with groups of men and women separately because when mixed, the women found it difficult to give their opinions on certain sensitive issues regarding gender relations. When separated, they were more relaxed and spoke freely. Discussions were based on the same issues discussed at community level for more clarification.

Wealth ranking

This exercise was done in the sub-villages as using a whole village will be too cumbersome to handle considering the time available for data collection. A list of names of everybody in the sub-villages chosen for the exercise was collected from the leaders. These names were then written on pieces of paper. Four people (two men and two women) from each sub-village in each of the villages used for the study were requested for from the sub-village chairman. The criteria for the choice of these people is their ability of knowing almost everyone in the sub-village. These people were involved in a wealth ranking exercise using the pieces of paper with the name of everybody in the sub-village. The ranking was done by the people themselves, grouping the pieces of paper with the names into different groups of wealth from their own perspective of who wealthy and who is poor. The criteria on which the wealth groups were based were then asked for and discussed.

3.2 Research Findings

3.2.1 Development as perceived by the people

During this study emphasis was placed on the people's own ideas and perceptions of development issues since the aim of the Poverty Eradication Strategy is to adopt a participatory approach to the understanding of poverty and other related issues among the people of Shinyanga. The issue of development is vital since the trend these is to days help people to develop themselves by their direct and active participation in development activities. There were no inter-village differences in the way development is perceived by the people during the course of this study.

Generally the Sukuma perceive development a process of movement towards an improved way of life - better housing, enough food to feed the family throughout the year, the means to educate ones children and provide them with adequate health facilities. At the same time, increased incomes can be invested in livestock, especially cattle. Regarding women, a "developed woman" is described as "a woman who makes her own decisions, has her own business or her own work such that she can help her parental home". In the view of those who contributed to this study, this is possible if a woman is single: "most married women are unable to develop since it is impossible for them to make their own decisions and anything they have belongs to their husbands. This reveals the role that marriage as an institution plays in the subordination of women and contributing to their poverty.

3.2.2 Poverty as perceived by men and women

The views presented here are the views of women and men gathered during group interviews.

Poverty is perceived as a state within which people lack basic goods such as food and clothing, and the means to acquire these, such as education and livestock (cattle and goats). In general the Sukuma regard anyone who has no livestock as poor. For instance, any woman who cultivates

enough food to feed her children but has no livestock, is regarded as poor. Nevertheless, people controlling large sums of money, but possibly having no livestock as may be the case with people living in urban areas, are also regarded as wealthy. The Sukuma also differentiate between poverty due to the lack of material goods and poverty due to the lack of “common sense”. In this respect, a person who has a lot of wealth but is unable to put this wealth to good use, may be regarded as poor (see table 2a).

Table 2(a) Perceptions of Poverty in general

Poverty in General (Views of women)	Poverty in General (View of men)
Lack of livestock	Lack of livestock
Lack of food	Lack of food
Lack of shelter	Lack of shelter
Lack of money to educate children and for other needs	Lack of land
Lack of land	Lack of ploughs
Lack of good drinking water	Lack of money to educate children
Lack of clothing	Lack of sense

Source: Gender Studies Focus Groups (women and men combined)

3.2.2.1 A poor woman as perceived by men

Men perceive a poor woman to be one who has a very difficult life: she has no clothes, she works like a servant and is under the control of a man who makes all decisions, she has neither freedom of movement nor speech. A poor woman is also a woman who has been abandoned by her husband and has to struggle to take care of herself and her children with no/few resources and who is forced to work as a labourer to make ends meet. A poor woman can also be an old woman who depends on other people for survival - begs/taken care of by society as a whole.

3.2.2.2 A poor man as perceived by women

Women perceive poor men to be drunkards. Women also regard any man lacks food for his household as poor. A poor man is a man who lacks good shelter for his household and also lacks of access to resources of production such as livestock and land.

Table 2b Perceptions on male Poverty: views of men and women.

A poor man: Men's views	A poor man: Women's views
Lacks food for household	A drunkard
Cannot educate children	Resists change
Lacks resources of production	Lacks shelter for family
Lacks livestock	Lacks resources of production e.g. livestock and land
Lacks good shelter	Lacks money to educate children
	Lacks food for family

Source: Gender Studies Focus Groups (women and men separated)

3.2.2.3 A poor woman as perceived by women

Women perceive a poor woman to be one who lacks good clothing and has no income of her own or has no work of her own. A poor woman is also a woman who is constantly harassed by her husband, a woman who works as a slave from morning till evening and a woman who cannot make decisions.

3.2.2.4 A poor man as perceived by men

Men perceive a poor man as any man who can not feed his household, has no means of educating his children and has little resources of production such as land and ploughs. A poor man is also a man who has no livestock, especially cattle and has poor housing facilities to house his household.

Table 2c Perceptions on female poverty: views of men and women.

Poor woman: women's views	Poor woman: Men's views
Lacks good clothing	Works like a servant
Lacks independent income	Lacks decision making
Constantly harassed by husband	Abandoned by husband
Works like a slave	Lacks freedom of speech
Lacks decision making power	Lacks good clothing

Source: Gender Studies Focus Groups (women and men separated)

The conclusion to be drawn from the above perceptions of poverty is that men and women perceive and experience poverty in different ways (see tables 2b and 2c). Perceptions on female poverty reveal the awareness of people about the fact that poverty does not simply mean a lack of material things. For the first time, people themselves have been able to lay emphasis on the qualitative and less tangible aspects of life as contributing to poverty in women such as lack of decision making power, lack of access and control over resources and, their dependency on men among other things. This is absent in previous researches because of the approaches adopted in poverty analysis. Female poverty, from the view point of those who contributed to this research, is closely connected to how patriarchal relations serve to disempower women. Emphasis is placed on women's roles as home makers and bearers of children only. In addition to performing most of the domestic work, women are seen to spend longer hours in the fields as compared to men. Women were quick to identify their position as one of slavery which limits their movements and decision-making in the

household and community and leads to poverty. None of the women's groups involved in the study mentioned the fact that a poor woman is a woman who is unable to feed her family since this the responsibility of men.

Contrary to the association of poverty in women to lack of non-material things, material things were much more associated with male poverty. A man's poverty as perceived by women and men is linked to his lack of control over and access to resources - livestock, especially cattle, land, ploughs enough food to feed the family and also the ability to educate ones children. The emphasis is on things in society that give them prestige as men, and which are used to maintain their positions of dominance and perpetuate subordination in women. However, when both men and women were combined for discussions, women perceived poverty in the same way as men. The emphasis laid in this study on the qualitative and less intangible aspects of life is portrayed in the example below about Esther, a woman in Iselamagazi.

Esther's husband was ranked as one of the wealthiest in the community - he owns many livestock, has a good house and owns much farmland, has an ox-cart and ploughs. The only thing Esther controls is chickens. She hardly makes any decision in the house and is not involved in any income earning activities. Thus, she does not control any income of her own nor has she direct access to or control over resources of production. Though she benefits from most of the resources available in the household, she considers herself to be poor because she has no income of her own and she does not make any decisions.

There were no differences between the Sukuma and other minority ethnic groups in Shinyanga in the perceptions of poverty and in the significance attributed to patriarchal relations for determining the position of women. This possibly reflects the influence of the Sukuma who are the dominant group in the Region. For example, the Sumbua in the Ushirombo district of Kahama, who were traditionally hunters and kept goats for paying bride price, now keep cattle and use these to pay bride price. Both men and women in areas occupied mainly by the Sumbua perceived poverty in the same ways as their Sukuma counterparts. This phenomenon was also observed in the culture

studies where the three major ethnic groups share a lot of things in common especially as regards to the manner in which society is socially organised, major economic activities, sources and division of labour, social hierarchy and the subordinate role of women hence the similarities in their perceptions of male and female poverty.

3.2.3 Perceptions of causes of poverty

Having described how people perceive poverty, it is appropriate to understand the processes which contribute to poverty as viewed by the same people. It is not possible to embark on a poverty alleviation project within a community without this understanding and it is only when the people themselves are able to identify the factors which contribute to their poverty that they can, along with development workers, address and alleviate this poverty.

3.2.3.1 Causes of poverty in men: views of men and women

Drunkenness

Drunkenness was mentioned as one cause of poverty in men in this study and also in the PPAs. In the case of poverty due to drunkenness, it is income from crop sales which is controlled mostly by men, which is spent on alcohol. In this case, drinking becomes an everyday affair leading to many divorces. Women from these broken marriages are left on their own to take care of themselves and their children (if any). Women are also abused (beaten) when men get drunk. In addition, money which could be used for the benefit of all who contributed to making it, ends up in one man's pocket and the woman is forced to use the little income that she has in the household. Without any help from the man she remains in the above condition for as long as her husband continues to use all their income on drink.

Poor planning

Extravagance and poor planning were also mentioned as causes of poverty. It was widely observed that most people (not only men) never plan well and once they have cash, they find it difficult not to spend it on anything they see and wish to buy. Men also mentioned poor planning in terms of food. Some people sell almost everything which is harvested leaving just a small amount for home consumption. After a short time, these same people start buying food to feed their families. If it happens to be a bad year they always find things difficult as prices rise and they are even less likely to be able to feed their families. They are also left with no money for development activities.

Polygamy

Though the proportion of polygamous households (20%) identified in the cause of this study is not as high as that of monogamous households (65%) (based on the calculations from the lists of names collected from leaders), men also identified polygamy as contributing to their poverty. They pointed out that the Sukuma marry many women and also spend lavishly on women other than their wives. They argued that many men marry more than one wife because they think that women are going to help them become rich. However, they know that this is not always the case as everyone was able to identify men with one wife who had a good standard of living, and others with more than one wife who had poor households.

Lack of access to resources of production

Lack of access to resources of production such as land is viewed by men as contributing to poverty. In addition men from Kakola village of Kahama did not hesitate to put the blame on the government. They blamed the government for some of its economic development policies which are not in the interest of the people. "We were here engaged in mining for a living only to be told one day by the government that the whole area is being taken over by a large scale mining company. We were forcibly removed from the land and asked to go back to farm. Having been

absent from farming activities over a long period, it has become very difficult for us: we have very little land and lack items such as ploughs for crop production. Now we are poor, we are unable to grow enough food to feed our families and we blame the government for this" (Men's Focus Group discussions, Kakola village).

3.2.3.2 Causes of poverty in women: men's views

Low level of education and lack of self confidence

Men attribute poverty in women to the low level of education and consequent lack of self confidence. Men argued that since the majority of women in Sukumaland have not been to school they are not aware of most of the issues which could help them improve upon their living conditions. Men said women do not believe themselves to be capable of doing anything and they therefore accept situations as they come even if they could do something to improve it.

Lack of birth control

Women giving birth without spacing was mentioned as a factor contributing to poverty and something over which women have no control. The number of children one has in Sukuma society gives status to a man. Men said they can not prevent their wives from having as many children as possible. As a consequence, men are aware that women have very little time to seriously engage in income generating activities which could help them out of poverty and it also leaves them weak and plagued with ailments.

Bride price

The issue of bride price in marriage was mentioned as a contributing factor to poverty. To men, women have been "bought" once bride price has been paid and if a marriage is dissolved, the cows are returned. The woman does not inherit anything as a wife and she simply has no say on anything

even when the man is alive. She is not expected to be rich while under her husband. *Amenunuliwa* -"She has been bought and is a servant; how then can a servant be rich whilst under her master? All she owns belongs to her husband" (Focus Group Discussions in all villages). At the same time there was some agreement among some of the men that this situation varies from house to house. There are cases of some men who do not practice what the culture and customs demand. The position of women married to such men is better.

3.2.4 Strategies out of Poverty: men's views

Men were of the opinion that good budgeting and educating ones children, could help them out of poverty. Education to them is the key to life: "education opens many doors as it helps you to think better, analyse situations and come face to face with realities other than just doing things because that is the way you have always done them" (Women's Group Discussion, Dodoma village) . Men therefore think education within the community will go a long way to help address the issue of poverty. Since men are of the opinion that most of the effects of poverty are experienced at the household level, they suggested that education on family life could be used to change views on practices that serve to subordinate women.

The men also expressed the view that small agricultural loans could also help both men and women to come out of poverty. The view was widely expressed that women should be given freedom to engage in other income generating activities and be given power to make decisions regarding expenditure.

3.2.5 Causes of poverty in women: views of women

Women in all the districts surveyed unanimously agreed on the following as factors which influence poverty in women.

Low level of education and lack of confidence

Like men women observe that the majority of women have no education or if even they have any education, the level is so low that they are not able to use it for any development activities. With this low level in education, "their only place is under a man who controls every aspect of their lives because he paid a bride price to marry them". Although educated married women are viewed as having an advantage over their colleagues with no education they still have a long way to go to be able to free themselves from male domination. On the other hand "women who are educated (at least up to secondary school) but are alone, have been quite successful in life. They are not controlled by any man, they use their income as they find necessary and with their literacy, they are able to manoeuvre and get things done as they see fit". The women went further saying that "education gives you have confidence in yourself. Once you can read you can add to your knowledge. You know, through education, what can cause your death and what can help you develop and even at times education helps you to know your rights. If you lack education all the above becomes a problem. You never know your left from your right and no development takes place in your life".

Lack of decision-making power

A lack of decision-making power on the part of women also contributes to their poverty. " A married woman will always have to seek permission from her husband before she does anything that will bring added income. The husband's decision will depend on how enlightened he may be on gender relations. If a man suspects that his wife's income generating activities might threaten his position in the household as head and decision maker he will object to his wife's involvement in

business even though it may bring some improvement in the living standards of the home".

Cowardice

Poverty in women is also attributed to cowardice. Many women marry when they are very young, even at 15 when they still have a lot to learn in life. At this age "she is not mature and thus regards the husband as a father". Many young women also become co-wives who most of the time do not take any decisions in the household if they are together with the other wives. "They become cowards, lack self confidence and succumb to any kind of treatment given to them by their husbands". "There may be avenues/mechanisms at the village level for seeking redress, but their low levels of education does not help them use these channels".

Lack of capital to start business

Women in Shinyanga get most of their income from crops such as sweet potatoes and legumes. These crops do not bring much income because the acreage is small due to problems of land and labour (especially during harvesting). Women use the income from these crops for household expenditures like salt, clothing for children, buying exercise books, paying school fees etc. "There is none left for investment in businesses". Also, "men begin to shirk their responsibilities as providers when they realise that a woman has income."(Focus Group Discussions)

Polygamy

Like men, women also identified polygamy as one of the things that contribute to poverty in women. They describe the pattern as follows: -"A man marries a first wife. She helps him with farm work and the income starts to increase. They have a good life. Instead of the man concentrating on the family as it is, he decides to add another wife. At times the first wife is ignored and left on her own. She begins to struggle in order to look after her children. With very limited resources, especially labour, she is only able to cultivate little to feed her children let alone

have surplus which she can sell and re-invest in income generating activities. This category of women is thus faced with poverty" (Womens' Focus Groups, Dodoma) .

Lack of livestock and land

Land and livestock are resources for production - the land produces food for the people and cash crops for income while livestock are used to plough the land and are also sold for income or exchanged for food when times are hard. The income realised from the sale of crops and livestock can be used for other development activities. Lack of these important resources means lack of food and money to take care of other development activities and women are disadvantaged with respect to access to and control over these resources.

Lack of trust in women

The last but not the least contributing factor mentioned was the fact that men do not have any trust in their wives. A woman's absence from home is interpreted as evidence of her involvement with another man. This limits women's involvement in development activities including their involvement in community activities, at times even activities taking place within their own community.

3.2.5.1 Strategies out of Poverty: women's views

Educating female children and women

Lack of education for female children in Sukumaland is well known and has been documented. Women think that most of the problems will be solved if the education of female children is given the same priority as the education of male children. Women expressed the view that as women and mothers, would ensure that their female children have some basic education if only they had money. Again, the importance of independent income earning was stressed. "If they are

economically independent they can support the female children if their fathers refuse to educate them" (Womens' Focus Groups). For themselves, they suggest the use of seminars to enlighten both them and their husbands, on issues about family life and the importance of educating female children. The view was expressed about the importance of educating both men and women on the above issues. "When women are educated without men, results will not be achieved as men will not be aware of issues and will continue to harass the women" (Womens' Focus Groups). The women also complained about the poor quality of education stressing that if nothing is done about it, "female children will be enrolled in schools, but they will end up knowing nothing after completion".

Raise independent incomes

As already noted, women are of the opinion that they need to strengthen their income base and make it as independent as possible from that of men in order to help them improve upon their living standards and gender relations at household level. "A woman who is self sufficient is respected in the community and is even feared by the husband" (Womens' Focus Group - Katome). They suggested starting income-generating activities such as large scale crop production and petty trade in groups. In order to achieve this, women said they would beg for land from one of the members of the group (some of the members are wives to affluent men), and contribute money which they would use to take care of the fields while using their own labour for harvesting. They would also seek help by way of ploughs and weeders.

Abolition of bride price

Women sincerely believe that the abolition of the bride price, and its substitution by "gift to parents" consisting of "a maximum of 4 cows" will go a long way to improve gender relations. The women are aware of numerous instances where men who did not pay a bride price could not control the property of their wives. They had to seek permission from wives before touching anything and if they were refused, they could do nothing.

3.2..6 Wealth groups

In order to identify differences in wealth in the communities surveyed and to engage the various categories of people identified in individual interviews to help in the identification of issues relating to intra-household poverty, a household level wealth ranking exercise was conducted in one sub-village within each of the villages. Four villages (four sub-villages) were involved in the exercise. Since the exercise was centred on households it did not reveal anything about intra-household poverty. However, this was taken care of by the individual interviews conducted after the wealth ranking exercise. The criteria used by informants to differentiate between the wealth groups was the same in all sub-villages and was based on the number of livestock (especially cattle) one has, agricultural equipment, land and ability to crop this land and have enough food for home consumption and for sale for other investments (see table 4).

On the whole, five wealth categories were identified in the four villages - very rich, rich, moderately poor, poor and very poor (table 3).

Table 3 Wealth Groups in Dodoma, Matongo, Katome and Kakola

Very Rich Group I (6 HH)		Rich Group II (38 HH)		Group III (44 HH)		Group IV (98 HH)		Group V (145 HH)	
MH	FH	MH	FH	MH	FH	MH	FH	MH	FH
6	0	29	9	37	7	90	8	130	15

Key: HH = Household, FH = Female headed. MH = Male headed

Source: Gender Studies Wealth Ranking in Sub-villages

The number of households in each group (female and male headed households) are also presented. The table reveals that poverty is experienced in all types of households - female headed or male headed (monogamous or polygamous) households. However not every female headed household identified in this study is poor. Table 4 gives the criteria used to establish the different wealth groups - cattle, ploughs, land and ability to crop other livestock. The determining factor for the categorisation of wealth groups was the number of cattle one has. Cattle is regarded as a source of security, status and a resource for production. The more cattle you have the richer you are.

Table 4. Criteria used to determine wealth groups

Criteria	Group I	Group II	Group III	Group IV	Group V
Cattle	400- 2,000	60 - 400	15 - 60	4 - 15	0 - 3
Acreage	400- 2,000	40 - 60	5 - 20	3 - 8	1 - 2
Tractors	2 - 3	1	-	-	-
Ploughs	-	3	1 - 3	1 - 3	-
Milling Machine	3-4	1	--	-	-
Bicycle	2 - 3	2	1	1	-
Goats	50 - 100	20 - 40	10 - 30	5 - 10	-
Ox-cart	2	1	1	-	-
Ox weeders					
-	Yes	Yes	Yes	-	-
Chicken	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Source: Gender Studies Wealth Ranking

3.2.6.1 Livelihood strategies of wealth groups IV and V

The poorest groups (IV and V) included households headed by widows, women who have been abandoned by their husbands for other women and who have children to care for, together with some youth. Most of the youth in these groups had just started life on their own and therefore lacked assets such as land, livestock, or a house of their own.. There were of course, some other households headed by older men (both polygamous and monogamous) in the poorest group. However, not all members of polygamous unions were put in the same group.

The strategies of the poorest for coping with their situation different depending on what is the main cause of their poverty and the opportunities available. However, all the people in this category interviewed category depend largely on crop production for livelihood security (see fig.1). This is supplemented by activities such as petty trade and income from carpentry, masonry etc. in the case of men. On the issue of expenditure patterns of the very poor people (which always certainly includes divorcees with young children to care for), no income is invested in livestock or in the purchase of other resources of production which could be used to increase production and make enough money for investments such as in children's education (see fig. 1). For people in this category, life at times becomes so difficult that children are not sent to school at the right age until the school going age is passed and they give up. This was also revealed in the PPAs where even some of the children who are already in school are withdrawn to help with economic activities. The situation presented in figure 1 however is not typical of all female headed households as some households headed by females who have access to and control over resources have income and expenditure patterns which are similar to that of male headed households in the very rich or rich class (see fig. 2).

Women abandoned by their husbands and having children to care for alone, without any remuneration from husbands or even kin, some women in polygamous unions and also young widows with young children engage in income earning activities such as crop production, petty trading, cooking and selling food and working on other people's farms as labourers. The bulk of

their income comes mainly from crop production. These women are constrained by limited land resources, lack of male labour and tools of production such as ploughs. Some have been given land by their parents but others may have to buy or rent land. The maximum amount of land usually cultivated is about 3 acres. These women seek assistance from neighbours, for ploughing for example, and at times friends to help with the weeding. Otherwise, they take care of everything: they have to buy food, pay rent, buy clothing for themselves and take care of other petty household needs such as kerosene, cooking oil, soap etc. "Even though they are given some assistance they are always in debt". With their limited resources, it becomes impossible to increase crop production thereby increasing incomes and being able to expand production further. The result is, therefore, poverty. The reliance of poor people on neighbours, kin and friends as a coping strategy for the poor was also revealed during the PPA field work and also in the study by Aarnink and Kingma (1992).

Older widows are taken care of by their children and/or neighbours in the case of those who do not have children.

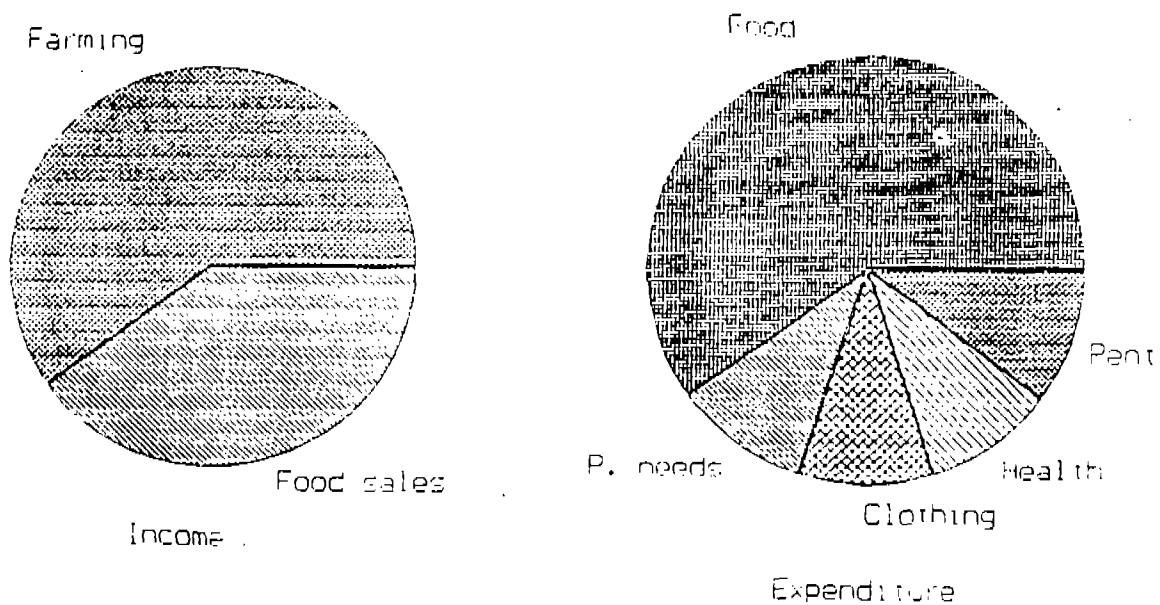


Figure 1 Income and expenditure patterns of a poor woman
Source: Individual Interviews: Djibouti

Though they are supported, they still have to take care of some other things which cannot be provided for by the supporters mainly through the cultivation of crops. With their narrow income base and small area of land and at times poor health, they are not able to cultivate, they are considered to be especially poor. It was widely agreed that the only way very poor people can come out of poverty is through a loan. The path to improved well-being was described in the following way. "With a loan, they can buy additional land, possibly also drought animals and a plough and use some of the money to hire labour (for weeding and harvesting). With this help, they could be able to cultivate more cash crops, thus increasing the capital for business, and could be in a position to invest in livestock which they can use to exchange for other things (food, labour) in times of need".

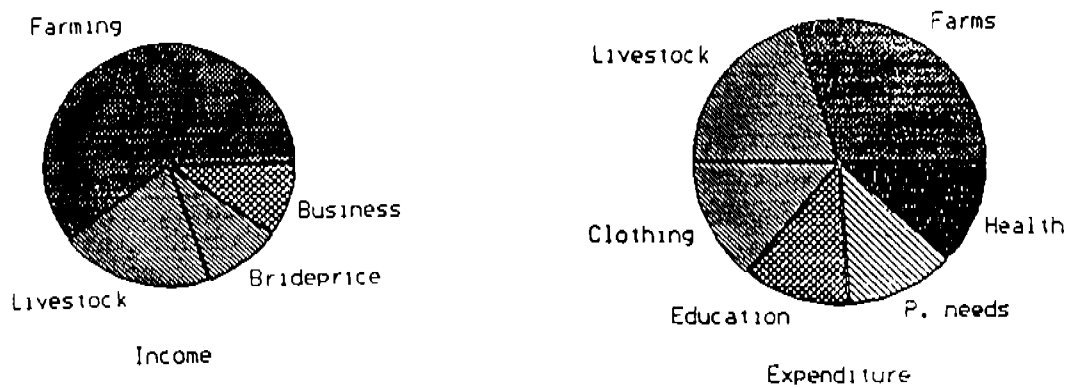


Figure 2 Income and expenditure pattern of a rich man
Source: Individual Interviews, Matongo

The improved well-being of the poorest groups compares with the description of the wealthiest groups. People in this group crop between 60-100 acres of land and have about 500 cattle and possibly a tractor. Since the acreage is large, income from crops is large and they have surplus food. They may only have to buy food when there is a natural disaster such as floods, drought and fire. (see figure 2). In contrast to the divorcees household in figure 1, the rich household makes no expenditure on food as the household is self sufficient. One other thing that is visible and therefore needs emphasising is the fact that a high proportion of family spending is invested in livestock and crop production. In Matongo, there was evidence of enough income generated by people in the very rich and rich groups so as to enable them put money aside for emergencies such as in the times of floods and fires when food is scarce to enable them buy food, and also in the case of very serious illness.

3.2.7 Female household heads and poverty

Widows

There are several instances where a widow may be regarded as a poor person. The first instance is when a married couple were in a state of poverty before the man died and the woman is left without resources of production such as land and ploughs but still have some children to feed. With mouths to feed, but alone, her situation does not improve: she is branded as a poor person.

In another instance, a man may have a lot of resources before dying. Sukuma custom allows the elder male child/children to administer the estate of the deceased, which is used by the children to care for their mother/mothers. Wives are not supposed to inherit anything from their husbands when they die, especially when the marriage is one for which dowry has been paid. However, this is not always the case: "if the children supposed to take over the administration of the estate are still young, the family of the deceased may decide that his wife/wives should not inherit anything following the customs and traditions of the land. The relatives of the deceased then take over his property, send the wives/wife away regardless of whether or not children are involved the women

begin to experience difficulties. They may be helped by their parents if they are alive and have resources. Otherwise, they will have to manage alone. They fall into a state of poverty which they find very difficult to alleviate" (Gender Studies Individual Interviews - Dodoma).

"If, however, the woman is aware of her rights and pursues the issue, the courts always ruled in favour of the woman and her children. This kind of action is easier to take in a monogamous union than in a polygamous one" (Womens' Focus Group - Dodoma).

In cases where the man had resources and the woman is left alone by the family of the deceased without any interference, the woman, together with the help of her children (if they are of age) or alone, is able to make it. She can make use of the resources such as ploughs, livestock (mainly cattle) and land, to continue production. She may lack male labour but as long as resources are available, she is better off than women in the categories discussed above.

Divorcees

A divorced woman who has not been given anything by her husband after her divorce and has children to look after, is most likely to find herself the poorest group. "She at times returns to her parents who may be kind enough to assist provided they have the resources. Because women in this category lack resources and therefore cannot produce enough food to last throughout the year they are faced with problems of food and other basic needs such as clothing, educating children, and having access to health services."

A neglected woman in a polygamous marriage

There are situations when a man neglects a wife. Where co-wives live together, this neglect is less disastrous since co-wives normally work together in the fields with the man helping them when necessary. Otherwise, the neglected wives have to fend for themselves. They may have land to crop but it is always difficult due to lack of resources and labour which are mainly controlled by

men. There are also instances when a wife may be beaten for the little money she may be having which she had toiled for alone. This affects her well-being - lack of food, poor health, lack of money to educate children and her mental health.

Women in monogamous households and poverty

In practice, women in monogamous households are not expected to be poor or to face the problems that their counterparts as female heads or co-wives (in polygamous homes) face. Such women certainly have male labour and other resources of production at their disposal if the man has them. They usually crop together and if the man should live up to his responsibilities and do what custom and tradition expects of him, then a woman in this kind of household has no problems compared with her counterparts in other situations. On the other hand, she might not be able to enjoy the kind of autonomy that is associated with female headedness - make all decisions, control any resources and income that may be available to her.

3.2.8 Women in productive activities

During the group discussions with the women's groups there was a unanimous agreement that the involvement of women in productive activities has been on the increase. The reasons given for this increase were connected with the state of the national economy and the economic crises following the government's failure to meet social needs. This has forced each household member to search for alternative ways of meeting household requirements.

The second reason given was to reduce women's dependency on men at the household level and to increase women's bargaining power within the household and in the community. "When a woman is well dressed and controls her own resources, she is well respected in the community and is always approached to take up positions of responsibility within the community". It was also pointed out that the needs of women have increased due to more interaction with other people. "Women now want to dress well and possess a lot of things that they formally did not use to dream

of having. They have also realised that their husbands can not or are not willing to provide all/some of their needs. They have decided to take care of themselves and also help in providing some of the needs of the household". To be able to achieve this they need income which can be controlled by them since men are not in a position to take on these added responsibilities. The only way they can achieve their aim is to increase/start income-generating activities (agricultural and non-agricultural) which are mainly controlled by them.

Agricultural production

Women have always been involved in agricultural production in Sukumaland. However, there has been an increase in the desire for many of them to expand agricultural activities controlled by themselves to generate income which can then be used for the benefit of the household as a whole and also for their personal needs. In Shinyanga Region different categories of women are involved in agricultural production in different ways. They are producers at the household level and usually concentrate on food crops such as sweet potatoes and legumes. These crops are of importance for the women because they control the output. They are also important crops for buying labour and poor women also sell some of the surplus food crops for money which is used to secure petty household needs.

Apart from food crops, women are also involved in the cultivation of the major cash crops together with the men. Even though they do not control the output of these crops, a reasonable husband uses part of the income from these crops for the benefit of the household and at times gives the woman a fair share of the proceeds which she can use to maintain herself.

Non agricultural income-earning activities

Some of the non agricultural income-earning activities women engage in Sukumaland are beer brewing, petty trade, cooked food sales including items such as doughnuts and peanuts, pot making, poultry keeping, pig keeping and selling charcoal, firewood and prostitution. Prostitution and other

ventures which involve much travelling attract more teenage girls than older women. Both young and old women are engaged in beer brewing. In the case of pot making and petty trading, some of these women have formed groups for the purpose of engaging in these activities (Aarnink and Kingma, 1991; PPA results).

Women involved in non-agricultural activities such as these do not have much time or capital and thus run relatively small enterprises; a "hand to mouth business". They also use inferior technology, employ little or no labour and have no access to loans. In many cases, their husbands become jealous of their achievements and a sense of insecurity arises leading to misunderstandings, beatings and also failure of the man to take care of the home. Men however mentioned that a woman who has her own business has a lot of contribution to make to the household economy. The reason they at times feel uncomfortable about it is that they feel threatened since she no longer asks for money to buy clothing and other personal needs. In addition, independency of women means that their authority in the home can be challenged: in certain cases the woman begins to challenge the husband's authority by arguing with him on every issue.

Means to start new economic activities

The major source of income for women is through the cultivation of crops such as sweet potatoes and legumes. These are crops mainly controlled by women: they are cultivated by women and their sale is controlled by them. Since this income is not controlled by men, most women use it to start other economic activities. There are also instances where women cultivate crops such as cotton and maize (usually when they are alone) for investment in other activities. The amount of income generated from crop cultivation depends on the amount of resources available (land, ploughs and labour) which influence the acreage cultivated. There are other women who are given money to start economic activities by their husbands or boyfriends (mapenzi). If the woman is married, it is always the household which benefits as the woman spends the money on school fees, drugs and hospital bills. If the income is substantial, the woman herself benefits as some of the women even invest in houses and livestock (except that some do not keep the animals with their husbands).

Some of her family members who are poor (parents, brothers and sisters and at times uncles and aunts) may benefit since the Sukuma have a social obligation towards the poor in the family and community.

Consequences of productive activities

Faced with the above situation, women have to divide their time between agricultural production, domestic work, child care and other income earning activities. Women take care of the sick, buy drugs for minor illnesses and take the sick to the clinic. Even the sick in hospitals are taken care of by women. This has affected the care of young children. Most of the women leave their children with either neighbours or relatives. This means a greater burden for women in family maintenance.

Women however admitted that some men volunteer to help with what is generally perceived as women's responsibilities such as helping with fetching water and collecting firewood. But still women said they find it very tiring combining all these activities with domestic chores. Women still have to work longer hours than men and this imbalance has been intensified, rather than the reverse, by the increasing involvement of women in productive activities. This phenomenon was also noted by Koda (1995: 45) in his studies in Dar es Salaam of women economic activities.

On the other side, while some men recognise the benefits women have gained, others see it as a big challenge to men's self-esteem and their reactions range from passivity to withdrawal of the useful cash support they used to give women. More serious is the domestic violence directed to some women (wives) who happen to possess more economic power than their husbands.

3.2.9 Social networks and the poor

The role of social networks (non-market interaction) in Tanzania in helping families to cope with economic pressure has been documented in recent studies (Tungaraza, 1992; Mwami, 1991; Lugala, 1990). The studies which were conducted amongst low income families in Dar es Salaam demonstrate the range of ways in which people mobilise social and cultural resources in their

efforts to survive. Hardly anyone fails to create and mobilise extensive networks within which contact is intense and whose operation is so wide that no area of life is left untouched by them. These networks are used for pooling resources including labour, for help in finding jobs, for providing advice, information and initial capital for enterprise development, for exchange of services and for emotional support. They play a particularly critical role in unemployment, sickness and old age.

A similar situation exists amongst the Sukuma. Aarnink and Kingma (1991) in their study of two villages in Kahama and Shinyanga districts of Shinyanga demonstrates that the household, among the Sukuma is not an isolated unit within the community. Inter-household relations exist, for example, by exchanging labour, tools and the like and networks based on kinship and neighbours are prevalent.

The four villages used in this study also revealed the existence of social networks which people especially the needy utilise in times of need. The most usual exchanges take the form of labour pools. Several households may come together and design a work plan for helping other members of their households (bukombakomba). This kind of labour pooling occurs mainly during weeding and harvesting periods. Households may also come together for grazing purposes and take turns in providing herdsmen. As might be expected, neighbours commonly work together and when neighbours are invited to work on your field, you have to provide food. Here again, in food preparation, you are assisted by neighbours who are women. You need therefore to have enough food including meat to cater for them. Affluent households also assist less affluent households in times of hardship - giving loans, food, helping out with labour. There are instances where the rich are obliged to help the poor and there are times when people are helped upon request. It must however be stressed that the ability of the poor to make use of these networks especially for production activities depends largely on what resources are available to them. Those who lack resources such as food are unable to make use of these community support networks. Below is an example of how poor women are assisted to cope with economic stress.

Mwanamongo is a widow who stays with her daughter-in-law. The husband to the daughter-in-law (her son) is a driver at Morogoro and often sends them money. Mwanamongo cultivates about an acre of land with the help of her daughter-in-law. They grow rice and maize on this land and Mwanamongo exchanges rice for maize at times. However, an acre of food crops is not enough to satisfy their food needs for the whole year. Mwanamongo therefore depends on her neighbours help for survival. They provide maize, and ingredients like tomatoes and also give her soap and other items. She also uses some money from her son to buy food (see figure3).

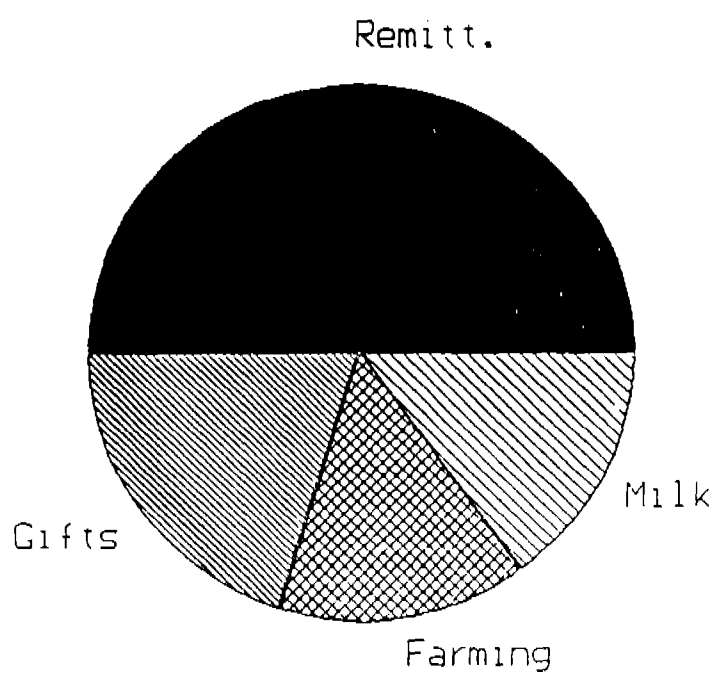


Figure 3 Matongo the case of Mwanamongo

Esther, who lives in Kakola has been neglected by her husband who has been away in the mines for six months with no word from him no remittances and no visits. In Kakola, being a small scale mining community, the people are not used to cultivating hence not much food has been cultivated for the year. Esther is facing food problems. Her household has been placed in the poorest group

in the wealth ranking exercise. Her neighbour, Kalekwa who is the head of her household and has been put in group II, has enough food since she ploughs and has a lot of farming land. She has no children but due to her access to resources of production, she is able to cultivate enough food. Esther therefore goes to Kalekwa from time to time to eat and also for soap to wash her clothing (see figure 4).

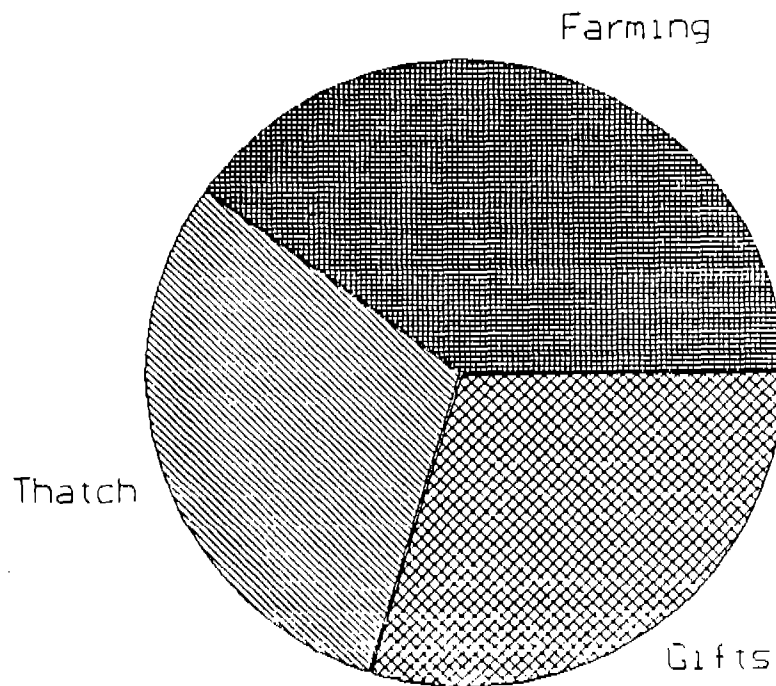


Figure 4 kakola the case of Esther

3.2.10 Change in gender relations in Shinyanga

Using PRA methods separate discussions were held with men and women on the past and present situation regarding gender relations in Sukumaland. The following views were expressed by men and women on this issue.

Men's views

"In the past women were very humble and dependent solely on us. The women never controlled any cash of their own except that entrusted to them by their husbands (Kakola, PPA). Women was satisfied with everything. There was no craving in women to be involved in income generating activities. The men use to give women a lot of money to keep and they were trustful. Socially, women did not hold positions of leadership in the community to deliberate over issues that affect society as a whole".

The above picture contrasted sharply with the one painted by men of the situation to-day. "These days, women engage in numerous economic activities from which they derive income. They cultivate plots of their own and control the income. Some are even able to build houses in the urban areas, at times without the knowledge of their husbands". "Women have become distrustful; men have therefore refused to allow women to keep money realised from the sale of cash crops (Katome Village)". They also observed that women to-day hold positions of leadership in the village even though some of them are harassed by the men for this. There are a number of women who are on village committees for development, and some of them are Village Executive Officers. This, to them, demonstrates a tremendous change in women's social position. Some of the women also refuse to be bullied and challenge the authority of their husbands as heads of households. "Some of the women are bold enough to demand a fair share of household property in the event of a divorce" (Gender Studies Men's Focus Group - Katome).

Reasons for change

The same reasons were given by all men in the four villages. Men attributed these changes to favourable government policies towards women on issues such as inheritance and education which has enlightened them and made them aware of their rights and to fight for them.

Women's Views

Women, said they have realised a change in gender relations in the following ways:

"In the past, as is true to-day, men were expected to be the provider for everything in the house. In marriage, the woman helped her husband to cultivate the fields and both enjoyed the fruits of their joint labour. Men clothed women, children and took care of every need and only few women were involved in income earning activities" (Women's Focus Group - Dodoma, Matongo and Katome).

"To-day, women are more involved in income-earning activities than ever before. They control a lot of income and make decisions on these incomes. Women may or may not inform their husbands, otherwise they use income at their own discretion. Also men have shirked their responsibilities for taking care of them as women" (Women's Focus Group - Matongo).

Socially, they noted much improvement. "Women are now elected to positions of authority within the community and most women have the freedom to form groups where they meet to discuss issues that affect them as women and how they can be solved".

Women attributed these changes mainly to education which is gradually helping them to realise the situation/condition in which they are and to know that something can be done about it.

Implications for female poverty and well-being

Although women realise some substantial income, as soon as the men see this, they may refuse to supplement their income for household use. Faced with this situation, women said they are forced to work harder combining income generating activities with farming and looking after the children.

Women said they become so tired that the children are not well taken care of and the result is poor health for both parents and children. Some women are even faced with domestic violence. They are beaten by some of the men for money. The men, realising that some of the women have been

successful and are contributing to household economy become jealous and harass the women. Some of the women are banned from engaging in non agricultural economic activities.

Many women are therefore drained of the little resources they might have reinvested in business. "They become sick and they become very unhappy". The objective that drove them into economic activities - to save their dignity as human beings and have independence of men - is hardly achieved. Some men said, "we bought them - how can a servant be rich?" (Men's Focus Group - Katome).

In some instances where women have been elected to positions of leadership within the community, a form of harassment takes place until the woman gives up the post. They are therefore not well represented when issues that affect the community as a whole are being discussed. Women are also cheated when dealing with issues such as the allocation of resources such as land or anything that affects their happiness. "They thus continue to be poor, unhappy, weak and sad and continue to live with the idea of servitude".

3.2.11 Expressed needs of men and women

The needs expressed by women and men in this study are provided in table 4 below. Throughout the studies and also in the PPAs, women repeatedly talked about the fact that they lack income to invest in economic activities and also independent income which they can control without any interference from men. The PPAs also revealed the heavy workloads of women leaving them with very little time to do anything for themselves, low levels of education among women especially legal literacy, control and access to resources of production, lack of decision making power and the fact that women are most of the times harassed and beaten. All the above they attributed to the traditions and customs of the land. "It is something embedded in the culture and traditions of this land; it is only by way of serious awareness raising programmes for both men and women that this battle can be won; this is the only way we can be empowered" (Womens' Focus Groups - Dodoma and Matongo). The men also agreed to the fact that it was about time they changed their attitudes

towards women. "*Kwa kweli ni lazima tubadilike tabia*" they said (Mens' Focus Group - Dodoma, Matongo and Kakola). It is about time men changed. Men also suggested education as a possible way of helping them change their attitudes and behaviour towards women. Apart from the above needs, there were various other needs such as women's lack of access to market centres due to lack of access to transport facilities, restrictions on movement imposed on women by men, skills and information on productive activities and other welfare services such as provision of water, health care, and educational facilities expressed by both men and women.

The needs expressed by the people were not categorised by the people themselves as being strategic or practical needs. However, during the discussions in the villages certain needs came out clearly as reflecting the subordinate position of women and some reflecting the inadequacies both sexes experience in living conditions. Those that reflect the position of women can be said to be strategic and those that reflect the conditions as practical based on the classifications by Molyneux. Most of the needs of women expressed reflect their subordinate position in the Sukuma. Since men are not in any subordinate position, their strategic need is one that can help bring about change towards improvement of the positions of women as their partners in life (see table 5).

4.0 BREAKING THE LINKS BETWEEN GENDER AND POVERTY: Implications for Action and for Policies

Perceptions on poverty, its causes and various needs of the people that could be addressed to help save the situation have been dealt with in this study and in the PPAs. Recommendations on how the expressed needs of women and men could be addressed to alleviate poverty, especially poverty in women and improve the position of women in Shinyanga Region, and the opportunities existing at local, district and regional levels for interventions are presented below.

4.1 Strategic needs

Liviga (1997) points to issues such as minimum female representation in parliament, gender specific laws, rules and practices especially on marriage and inheritance, and the press portraying women negatively in the media as causes for discrimination still going on against women. Specific areas identified for change are the operational existence of a discriminatory customary legal system alongside statutory law, laws dealing with marriage and child care/custody, inheritance, sexual abuse/harassment and discriminatory employment (Mbughuni, 1994:235).

There is no doubt that the state, in Tanzania, has been doing what it can to address some of the above needs of women which were also identified in the PPAs and in this study. Men and women have attributed change in gender relations to some favourable government policies (Focus Group Discussion - Gender Studies). There is a law on inheritance enabling female children and wives of a deceased person to inherit their father/husband just as male children do. There is also a law on land ownership allowing any adult, including women, to own land. Discussions with men and women in the villages revealed that men involved in cases of violence against women were punished (though not all men involved).

Table 5 Expressed needs of Men and Women

Women	Men
Lack of improved technologies (to alleviate burden of domestic labour) Measures against male violence Modification of bride price Education on family life and rights of women Removal of institutionalised forms of discrimination against women on issues such as land and inheritance Water provision Health care Education Capital and skills to start and manage income-earning activities	The need to know about family life and role of women and men in development. Need to be educated on the disadvantages of some traditional institutions which hamper development. Water provision Health care Education Access to production information in agriculture and livestock

Source: Gender Studies Focus Group Discussions

Punishment depended on abused women seeking redress and made sure punishment was given. However, many are the cases which are not attended to due to male biased institutions for seeking redress. Women's participation in governance is a prerequisite for the protection of their interests. This, the government in Tanzania has tried to achieve ensuring that women in Tanzania have reserved seats in village government councils. This is not enough when compared to the proportion of men in government but it is a step in the right direction of involving women in government. Even though some of them have taken up these posts of responsibility especially in Inheleghani (Shinyanga Urban) and Kakola (Kahama), as the PPAs and this study reveal, women still have the problem of maintaining these few seats since many of those elected are harassed by their husbands until they resign. Women's low educational levels, social and cultural factors contribute to make this impossible. Women therefore tend to do nothing about their situation as they will not even be

heard due to their low representation in leadership positions.

The above gives a picture of the attempts being made by the government to improve the position of women in Tanzania. Despite these attempts there remains a lot to be done as women are still being discriminated against in all spheres of life as was revealed in this study and the PPAs. The expressed needs of women show that most of their problems can be found in the customs and traditions of the land which continuously seek to oppress women. The fact that women's position remain the same despite the presence of numerous development projects working to improve the position of women points to the fact that the "basic roots of women's oppression are not being dealt with," namely the patriarchal social structures, the gender blind policies of the state, and the patriarchal hegemony of knowledge which have pushed women to the background (Mbughuni, 1994:212-216). This calls for the removal of traditional institutionalised forms of discrimination against women.

One major difficulty which faces feminists trying to bring about change is the male bias institutionalised in government and other powerful structures. Those in power (mostly men) always "drag" their feet to advocate for change in gender relations by way of "putting off". (Mbughuni, 1994:212). The most practical ways however, of addressing discrimination against women is make new laws which favour women where there are none, the reinforcement of the already existing laws of the state on inheritance, property ownership, marriage and bride price, violence against women and divorce and the need to put mechanisms in place to see to the enforcement of the laws and how women can make use of them for their empowerment. This should be followed with community education programmes for women and men by way of seminars probably making use of PPA technicians and already existing programmes working in the same directions of women's empowerment. It is mainly through the education of the people that the basic roots of women's oppression can be dealt with to bring about transformative change. Education on family life and the place of men and women in society, together with the provision of information on the law and how to seek redress if abused (legal literacy) will help to address these needs. The seminars should be organised as a series in order to provide a continuing reminder to everyone that the problem to be addressed is a common problem and not only a problem for

women.

The strategic need identified for men is the need to know about family life and the role of women in development. This also calls for education and men could be combined with women since the same issues are going to be dealt with when educating women.

4.2 Practical Needs

In planning for practical gender needs, it is necessary to recognise that women require integrated cross-sectoral planning strategies. The failure to recognise women's multiple responsibilities may not only jeopardise the implementation of policy, with programmes frustrating rather than meeting basic needs. It may in fact worsen the position of women (Moser, 1993:48).

The practical needs of women and men identified in the Shinyanga Region are the provision of water, health care, capital to start income-earning activities and the skills, and information to manage these activities. Women are involved in income earning activities either in groups or as individuals. Their initial capital to start business enterprises is small since a large part of it is money realised from the sale of their farm produce which they find difficult to expand because of lack of access to and control over production resources such as land and labour. One way in which this need could be addressed is to help women expand activities from which they get their capital, which is mainly crop production. This could be achieved by continuously offering women various training skills in crop production. The role of information in development activities is important and vital for the sustainability of interventions. The importance of information provision for women in helping to influence decision making and control over the organisation of agricultural production has been stressed by Aarnink and Kingma (1991). Regular provision of information to women on crop production including vegetable gardening, crop marketing and accounting could help solve some of their problems in crop production. It is easier to deal with women in groups than as individuals since it is not easy for men to infiltrate the groups and harass the women. Since they are constrained by labour in their crop production activities, women certainly will need some

labour-saving devices such as ploughs and weeders. Some programmes are already ongoing in Shinyanga and these should be carefully reviewed and the experience be incorporated into any future programme.

The need to access production information in agriculture and livestock was identified by men as one of their needs. Although farmers are knowledgeable there is the need to blend ideas from different sources. This need could be addressed through training at village level and on a regular basis. The approach should be one that generates a lot of debate leading to exchange of ideas.

The provision of basic services such as water, education and health care has been identified as needs for both women and men. Experiences from the PPAs show that men and women are of the opinion that these services should be provided for the communities by the central government. The discussions with the people during the PPAs however has created awareness on development issues and people are prepared to do things for themselves. The easiest way to do this is to help the people mobilise themselves through the provision of development information and start projects on their own. They can be assisted with what is beyond their capacity by any organisation that is prepared to work with them. If everything starts from the people the services are more likely to be sustained than if they are provided by any external agency including the government. The most important thing is to get the people involved and make them responsible for the provision, maintenance and sustainability of these facilities. Communities are likely to need some skills for maintaining the services, and this could be provided at the village level by experts using whatever methods of communication appropriate taking into account the culture of the people.

4.3 Opportunities for development interventions

Local level

There are numerous women's groups which exist in Sukumaland mainly for carrying out economic activities and for social welfare purposes. Economic activities are largely crop production, petty

trading and dairying. Otsyina's study (1993) revealed that these groups are of different kinds and the success of any development intervention using them depends on which kind is used. The local groups, contrary to the ones imposed from outside such as Umoja wa Wanawake Tanzania (UWT) always have much chance to succeed. There are others which are also local but which were formed because an assistance was being offered to women of which the prerequisite is the existence of a group. Usually (though not always the case) leaders of these groups are either wives of influential people in the society. It turns out that the other women become suspicious of the leaders and more often than not the group breaks up. However, many of the groups (formed through the initiatives of the locals themselves) seem to be performing well, but they are constrained in their activities by lack of capital and lack of organisational and management skills. Due to the above constraints, they have not been able to achieve much success. However, they could be used as points of contact for development interventions. NGOs such as Oxfam and World Vision who have targeted women in their development activities use many of these women's groups, but since no research has been carried out to evaluate the projects it is difficult to say precisely how successful these projects have been in using the groups.

Regarding information communication, the modern forms of communication like seminars could be combined with the traditional forms like *ngomas* (the traditional dance groups). The activities of the *ngomas* are mainly limited to dry season when women are less busy with farm work and can therefore attend these functions. This mode of communicating information is controlled by the society and therefore stands a greater chance of success than the modes of communication controlled by "outsiders" as studies have revealed (Otsyina, 1993:180).

There are also various development committees available in the communities who oversee development activities such as education, water provision and health. These committees have men and women representation and mechanisms which are already in place and there should be no difficulty in organising the people through them for development activities. The village council which also has female representatives are available in every village. These, together with traditional institutions such as the *Nsubatale* and *lugoye* identified in Bariadi during the PPAs are

also opportunities for dealing with legal issues at village level if strengthened.

District and regional levels

Numerous projects can be found at both the district and regional levels. Some of these are governmental, others are non-governmental but all basically share the aim of developing the Shinyanga Region through different development approaches. HASHI is a soil conservation and afforestation project which aims to improve the living conditions of the people of the Shinyanga Region. It has offices in all the districts and they are involved with farmers, both women and men, offering training skills to them in the management of the environment. The Ministry of Agriculture provides information on nutrition and child care in the case of women and general agriculture to help them improve on their farming techniques. Of notable importance is the Dutch Rural Development Projects which can be found in three of the six districts of the Shinyanga Region. They are involved in all kinds of development activities at the district level. Unlike the projects organised by NGOs, these rural development projects do not target individuals or groups. They assist in the provision of basic human services in the districts where they operate. GTZ's Integrated Pest Management (IPM) programme and CARITAS (NGO) have specialised in crop management (the Integrated Pest Management of GTZ) and general agriculture problem (CARITAS). World Vision provides assistance to poor families through educating children, providing free child health care services. They also build schools in rural areas and are involved in afforestation activities. Oxfam organises seminars and gives assistance in the form of money to women, youth and disabled groups.

All these are opportunities already existing in the region which could be improved upon for future development initiatives. The problems identified with all these groups and which should be solved before any new interventions are introduced is that their activities are focused mainly on short term welfare delivery and in most cases not coordinated. As a result many projects are involved in the same kind of activities but not learning from one another and making the overall task more successful.

4.4 Conclusions

This study adopted a participatory approach to gender and poverty. The study has revealed that men and women in Shinyanga Region perceive and experience poverty in different ways contrary to the conventional definitions of poverty portrayed in the literature. Perceptions on female poverty has laid emphasis on the qualitative and less tangible aspects of life and has been directly linked to patriarchy where intra - household relations have identified as a source of disempowerment and poverty for women in areas such as decision making, heavy workloads, access to and control over resources of production. Poverty associated with certain types of female headed households such as widows with young children to care for, divorcees, and neglected women in polygamous unions is also largely attributed to patriarchal patterns of inheritance which denies them access to resources of production such as land, agricultural implements and access to male labour making it extremely difficult for them to be productive. We can therefore deduce from the above that most of the women in Shinyanga Region are poor even though some of them may not lack material things.

Many development organisations, some of which have been identified as opportunities for development interventions are all working in Shinyanga with the aim of alleviating poverty and improving the positions of women. The position of women, however, has not really been improved through their activities as is evident from the different needs expressed by women and men in this study and the PPAs. These various development organisations, it can be said are only concentrating on short term welfare delivery programmes which do not address the basic roots of the problems of women. The implications of these findings therefore for the Human Development Report is that a holistic approach be adopted by future development interventions in solving the problems of the people and help in the empowerment of women to improve their position in society. Short term welfare delivery must be combined with capacity building and empowerment strategies focusing attention on the root causes/determinants of women's oppression.

REFERENCES

Aarnink Nettie and Koos Kingma. *The Shamba is like a Child. Women and Agriculture in Tanzania I* Leiden: Women and Autonomy Centre, Leiden University 1991. 369 p.

Ako, Rosemarie Mwaipopo. "Household Resource Management and Patriarchal Relationships: The Impact of Seaweed Farming in Paje Village, Zanzibar". In *Gender, Family and Household in Tanzania*. Edited by Colin Creighton and C. K. Omari. Aldershot: Avebury, 1995. pp 156 - 177.

Barrow et. al., *Soil Conservation and Afforestation in Shinyanga Region: Potentials and Constraints*. Mission Report to NORAD, 1988.

Brandstrom, Per. *The Agro-pastoral Dilemma: Underutilization or Overexploitation of Land Among the Sukuma of Tanzania*. (Working paper in Africa Studies). (No. 8), Uppsala: Department of Cultural Anthropology, 1985. p. 4.

Bryceson, Deborah F. "Gender relation in rural Tanzania: power politics or cultural consensus"? In *Gender, Family and Household in Tanzania*. Edited by Colin Creighton and C. K. Omari. Aldershot: Avebury 1995. pp 37 - 69.

Caplan, Pat. "In my office we don't have closing hours: Gendered household relations in a Swahili village in northern Mafia Island". In *Gender, Family and Household in Tanzania*. Edited by Colin Creighton and C. K. Omari. Aldershot: Avebury, 1995. pp 118 - 138.

Collison, M. P. *The Economic Characteristics of the Sukuma Farming System*. Economic Research Bureau (ERB) paper 72.5. Dar es Salaam: University of Dar es Salaam, 1972. 47 p.

Collier, Paul et. al. *Poverty in Rural Tanzania: Ujamaa and Rural Development in the United Republic of Tanzania*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986.

Cory, H. *Sukuma Law and Customs*. London: Exford University Press, 1953. P. 1-13.

Creighton, Colin and Omari, C. K. (Editors). *Gender, Family and Household in Tanzania*. Aldershot: Avebury, 1995. 327 p.

Hankins, T.M. *So You Get Up Early to Plant, Who are You Ahead Of? The Role of Cotton Planting Time in Sukuma Agriculture*. Ph.D, Thesis. Worcester". Clark University, 1974. 170 p.

Jackson, Cecile. "Rescuing gender from the poverty trap". In *Gender Analysis in Development Series No. GAID 10*, March 1995. School of Development Studies, UEA. Norwich 32 p.

Kaijage, Frederick and Anna Tibaijuka. *Poverty and Social exclusion in Tanzania*. International Institute for Labour Studies and United Nations Development Programme. Research Series 109, 1996 202 p.

Kalma, M. *Agroforestry in the Semi-arid Regions of the Tropics*. Australian National University Centre for Forestry in Rural Development Research. (Working Paper No. 12), 1989. p. 1-64.

Koda, B.O. "The Economic Organization of the household in contemporary Tanzania". In *Gender, Family and Household in Tanzania*. Edited by Colin Creighton and C. K. Omari. Aldershot: Avebury, 1995. pp. 139 - 155.

Liviga, A. J. "The Tanzanian voter and gender issues". In *Political Culture and Popular Participation in Tanzania Redet Publication No. 2*, University of Dar es Salaam. Dar es Salaam 1997. pp 140 - 149.

Mbughuni, Patricia. "Gender and Poverty alleviation in Tanzania: Issues from and for Research". In *Poverty alleviation in Tanzania*. Edited by Bagachwa, M.S.D., 1994. pp207-242.

Moly neux, M. "Mobilisation without Emancipation? Women's Interests, State Revolution in Nicaragua". *Feminist Studies*, 11 (2) 1985.

Moser, C.O.N. *Gender Planning and Development: Theory, Practice and Training*. London: Routledge 1993, 20 - 285 p.

National Agroforestry Task Force. *A Blue Print for Agroforestry in the Unimodal Upland Plateau of Tanzania*. AFRENA Report No. 6, 1988. P 3.

Odubogun, P. Kassey. *Poverty Allevation in Africa: a Review of Strategies*. In *Africa Quarterly*, Vol. 34, No. 4 199?

Omari, C.K. "Decision Making and the Household: Case Studies from Tanzania". In *Gender, Family and Household in Tanzania*. Edited by Colin Creighton and C. K. Omari. Aldershot: Avebury, 1995. pp. 203 - 220.

Ostergaard, Lise. *Gender*. In *Gender and development: a Practical Guide*. London: Routledge, 1992. Pp1-10.

Sarris, Alexander H. and van der Brink, R. *Economic Policy and Household Welfare during crisis and Adjustment in Tanzania*. Cornell University Food and Nutrition Program. New York: University Press.

Shao, I.F.; Mboma, L.M.R.; Semakafu, A.M. *Traditional Management of Natural Resources with Emphasis on Women: The Case Study of Shinyanga Rural District: Research, Report for*

NORAD, Dar es Salaam: Institute of Development Studies, 1992. p. 107.

Seers, Dudley. "The Meaning of Development". In *Extension Education and Rural Development. Vol. 1: International Experience in Communication and Innovation*. Edited by Bruce Crouch and Shankariah Chamala. Chichester: John Wiley, 1981. p. 8.

Tinios, Platon, et. al., "Household Consumption and Poverty in Tanzania: Results from the 1991 National Cornell-ERB Survey". Seminar on Policy and poverty in Tanzania, Dar es Salaam, 1993.

Tolhurst, R. *Motherhood and Marriage: A Case Study on women's bargaining position and livelihood strategies in Botswana*. University of East Anglia, School of Development Studies. M. A. Thesis. 1997. pp. 53 - 60.

Tungaraza, Felician S. K. "The Family and Social Policy in Tanzania". In *Gender, Family and Household in Tanzania*. Edited by Colin Creighton and C. K. Omari. Aldershot: Avebury, 1995. pp. 299 - 316.

United Republic of Tanzania. *The Population Census: Preliminary Report*. Dar es Salaam: Bureau of Statistics. Ministry of Finance, Economic Affairs and Planning, 1988. 200 p.